/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 cm. in height. All along these rivers and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (ʰ̌ʷa-ʰ̌ʷya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II. A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Čipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of [242] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Čipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring [233] them the Čipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in Uro-Čipaya: kxula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (skxăla), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the saya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[203] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the care and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Čipaya practice crop rotation.

[212] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

Métraux--148 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas--
Cápaya

/162 cont./

of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2. K /see p. 150/). Today they use long-handled hoes (*azuna*, *takisa*) of European make. The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The *quinua* which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequently of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (*sičá*) which they say is the root of the *tola*, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (*sawka-pera*) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk. They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, *quinua*, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

2:066mmm--149 E-9 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Urs SF24
Caranga:-
Chipaya

w/162 cont./

439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here// /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth carried in a neighboring village were given to Chipaya women to be finished. Formerly some Chipaya would go to hire themselves out

464 as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá.

[165] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Chipaya outside their "bare plain."

• 433 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole
451 world upset the economic life of the Chipaya. The low quotation for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Chipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

334 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Chipaya. In all, for game they have a few birds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and tuco, a kind of small rodent a little

[165] larger than a rat. Pennazzky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Chipaya.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 151]

Archeland--1 D.E-8 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uro SF24

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uro Indians living in the village of Iru-Ito, or Angosie, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Ito had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /tuxurales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uro have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, bagre, carache (various Cyprinidae), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uro are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 22 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uro-Aymara half-breeds.

3:Vellard--7 D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/170/

I. The Misery of the Uru
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 151 /in the foreign text/)

/Note. As a result of the difficulty of obtaining the typographical signs for the exact transcription of the Uru words included in the remarks, we have been obliged to transcribe a certain number of words in an approximate fashion and more or less successfully. It will therefore not be surprising that there are differences of transcription between the texts, which have been reproduced by a photographic process, and the remarks. It goes without saying that only the transcription of the texts is exact./

Free Translation

1. We shall never be able to go from here; we all are too much accustomed to be here since always. 2. But our fields will give us very little. 3. This year is too dry and the potatoes are not growing. 4. The frosts have burned everything. 5. That is why we are leaving. 6. Now what shall we do? 7. In the swamp which is drying up there are no more suche (kind of fish). 8. There are no more reeds and there are no more birds' eggs. 9. All the eggs have departed into the great lake of Guaqui. 10. The fish have left for Guaqui. 11. How will we eat now? 12. If it rains enough this year we shall live. 13. We shall all return to our village. 14. If it does not rain (enough) we shall die. 15. We eat the little potatoes which we cultivate for the people of another race (the Aymara). 16. We earn them by cultivating for them. 17. There are few fish and we have only caught one. 18. We shall sell it. 19. Thou hast seen how small it is. 20. It is necessary to go far to fish. 21. We are accustomed to going home at night. 22. We shall return home to sell (our catch).

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 142 193 [161] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ǒx'ǩa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle ču intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a

*539 192 tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú- čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

[16th Century]

A Q 175 162 /35 cont./

Machuca (Juan Lozano)

...In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen....Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines....The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

U 175 162 433 735 Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000 Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and founding many metals, which they extract from the mines, they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly are..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

U 175 127 [131] Jujuy Archives

Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testaments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the Orosmayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like those who share a boundary with the Atacamas..../Translated from the Spanish./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native kilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

. 5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the [illegible] by the head of each moiety.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

114 retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preocupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-
433 recordings, we explored the village. There was prac-
[648] tically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This
was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow
[396] the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

346 We returned by the little church. Very occasionally
[393] a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *ĉuñu* (Uru *auni*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*sulu*, *kauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likla* or *likli*, or *xawiarkawia* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likli* is made from a plant called *kiawi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kaula*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> *Each of* these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thirds part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okona*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the lip-

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native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri, O. Pentlandi, O. Humboldti, O. Jurieui, O. Bairdii, O. Orbignii, O. frontosus,* and *O. Neveui.* Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suli, mauri;* Uru *čiri*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi,* and *T. rivulatus.* Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qeri-čaqa, qeristus, kuri-mauri, umanta, Kavali;* (Uru) *teri, čis, čuki, ol'ula, čulkiri,* and *wak'uli* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi, salala, ulkurčala*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suli, mauri, čiri*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking:*

> These ovens, which the Uru call *sanaka,* consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wenla, čokya*), ducks (*soyna*), geese (*wulala*), loons (*pulo*), herons (*ačiči*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *čiwanku* or *čičinkra.* Other unidentified birds are: *čalita, kalawaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *alowa, čuwani.* Of these aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*pulo*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'anasoyna.*

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *bolas,* made with two large

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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*ṗiri*) and *bolas* (*ǯkuni*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusiṗ'ia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *ṗ'oa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiṗ'ia* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *ǩesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*ǩesana* and *čawara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very incomplete. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: [illegible], T.T.ana, konko, kama, kuipa.